Social Progress



This Changing Planet

Social Progress

Published by the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America to provide a forum for the church on subjects of social concern for Christians. It includes program resources, legislative developments, and guides to worship, study, and action for leaders of social action groups in local churches, presbyteries, synods, presbyterial and synodical societies. Articles represent the opinions of the authors.

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From This Uantage Point

This issue of Social Progress features a study-discussion-action guide on Christian responsibility in international affairs. The guide was prepared by the staff of the Department of Social Education and Action with the encouragement and cooperation of Dr. Kenneth Maxwell, Dr. Darrell Randall, and their fine colleagues in the Department of International Relations of the National Council of Churches. The thirty-two-page section which contains that guide will be republished as a separate piece by the National Council of Churches for interdenominational use in connection with the co-ordinated social action emphasis on international relations in the program year beginning this fall.



We hope you like the new Social Progress. The editors have high hope for the sections entitled "What's Happening," "Events," and "Echoes." The vitality and usefulness of these sections depend entirely on the response of our readers. We need the co-operation of social education and action chairmen and secretaries in synods and presbyteries and in synodical and presbyterial organizations.

Under "Echoes" we want to publish stimulating correspondence from our regular readers. In recent weeks practically all of our mail has been on the fan letter side. We want more communications from people who take issue with us and with the views we express. At the same time, we do not wish to turn this section into a forum for mongers of suspicion and hate. We will try to give priority to letters from those of you who are regular readers of Social Progress.

The "What's Happening" section is devoted to reports of Christian action programs and projects in local churches, in communities, in presbyteries and synods—all for our mutual encouragement and enlightenment. Perhaps something is happening in New Mexico or in Ohio that should be happening also in New York and Oregon. We all can learn from one another.

"Events" is intended to be a calendar, as complete as possible, of scheduled meetings, conferences, seminars, programs, related to our common interests in all parts of the country. Let's get into the habit of letting the editors know about these things. Why not send to the Department of Social Education and Action, attention of Mr. Howard Maxwell: (1) notices of all activities and (2) minutes and reports of meetings.



The Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action has been working faithfully on recommendations for the 1959 General Assembly. It is probable that the Committee will present to the General Assembly proposals for pronouncements dealing with capital punishment, with birth control, with certain aspects of industrial relations, and with some new issues in the field of human rights. An Advisory Committee on the Problems of Alcohol has been constituted which will present a progress report, anticipating a stirring new statement in 1960. The Advisory Committee on Race Relations (The Committee of Eighteen) will continue to give sound leadership in both study and action in its area of concern. Working parties will continue to probe issues on the labor-management front and in the area of crime prevention and correction in the expectation of further suggestions for General Assembly in 1960.

The Counseling Committee is made up of representatives from the Board of Christian Education, from the Board of National Missions, from the Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations, from the National Council of United Presbyterian Women, from the National Council of United Presbyterian Men, and from some other agencies of the church as well as from the church at large. The Committee would welcome comments from social education and action leaders across the church regarding its work, especially in reference to its recommendations for General Assembly deliverances.

-The SEA Staff

CHRISTIAN RESPONSIBILITY on THIS CHANGING PLANET

Are the churches living within their calling when they comment on world affairs or when they call upon their members to support policies that seem in accord with Christian teaching?

These and related questions are discussed in the following pages, which constitute a study-action guide to be used in connection with the social action co-ordinated emphasis for the program year beginning this fall.

The guide is designed for personal study as well as for use in discussion and action groups. The material is organized under six headings corresponding to the themes of the Fifth World Order Study Conference held in Cleveland in late 1958 under the auspices of the National Council of Churches.

The six "Read with Care" sections are a résumé of some of the best available Christian thinking on important aspects of international affairs: moral foundations, power and security, economic relations, human rights, institutions for peaceful settlement and change, and the mission of the churches.

Christian Responsibility on This Changing Planet, 35 cents, and the Background Papers, 20 cents each or \$2.00 for the set of 12, mentioned in Special Resources on pages 12, 16, 20, and 24, may be ordered from Department of Publication and Distribution, 120 East 23d Street, New York 10, N.Y.

I

Ethical Considerations

Our study begins with a consideration of some of the theological and moral problems underlying the conduct of foreign affairs. Here we discuss the bearing of our faith on our decisions as citizens, some Christian imperatives in the present international situation, and the ethical responsibilities of government. The comments in the following section are based on a background paper prepared for the Fifth World Order Study Conference in Cleveland by a preparatory commission of which Dr. John C. Bennett was rapporteur.

READ WITH CARE

The responsibility of the churches and of Christians to be concerned about international relations derives from their faith in God as Creator, Lord, and Redeemer. We believe that God is the ruler of the world and that he wills that men in history seek justice and freedom and peace.

We are responsible for the things we do or to which we consent as citizens. Our freedom of choice is limited, but in our decisions we are responsible to God and for all our neighbors who are affected by what we do (or fail to do). We are social and historical beings who are bound to be deeply affected by public events.

New Problems

The old difficulties in international relations are with us—those stem-

ming from national pride, from international anarchy, from misunderstandings and tensions between rival groups, from the struggles of men for a more tolerable existence. And there are new difficulties-the conflict between communist and noncommunist nations; revolutionary forces creating new nations with overwhelming social and economic problems, sometimes with unstable governments, with sharp resentments against the Western world; the development of nuclear weapons and of the means of delivering them. In such a world the consequences of man's disobedience take on proportions no previous generations could have imagined.

Some aspects of our situation carry great promise as well as great danger. The very conditions that have created new problems have also made possible the deliverance of

most of mankind from poverty, disease, ancient indignities.

Can Man Destroy Himself?

Until recent development of nuclear power, it was assumed that there would always be providential limits to the external consequences of man's sin and folly. This is now questioned. Those who believe that man may use his freedom to destroy himself must find ultimate security in the faith that God will realize his purpose for man in ways that transcend the historical process and that are beyond our understanding.

No catastrophe can affect the redemption established by God in Christ, but the threat of atomic devastation with the frustration of human hopes constitutes divine pressure upon man to control the forces of destruction. Man is best enabled to do this if he remains aware that he lives under the love and judgment of God.

In our response to God's love, which is expressed in our love for our neighbors, we should be sensitive to the needs, aspirations, fears, and feelings of all peoples affected by the policies of our nation.

Goals

Christians are under an imperative to work for the prevention of nuclear war and for the freedom of nations from externally imposed tyrannies. These are negative goals which need emphasis now. We are called also to seek positive goals: the peace, which is not only the absence of war but friendly relations among nations; political and economic institutions, which are favorable to justice and to spiritual and cultural freedom; the

development of structures of world community.

These goals (positive and negative) are not distinctively Christian, but dedication to them is an essential part of the Christian life.

Transcending National Interest

Every government is responsible for the interests of the nation by and for which it is constituted. Christians are part of a world-wide community, dedicated to the will of God for all men. As Christian citizens, we live in both areas of responsibility.

On the one hand, Christians should have a sense of solidarity with people in other lands. Our caring for the welfare and dignity of all our neighbors across all boundaries transcends national loyalty. A nation, on the other hand, cannot be expected to make sacrifices or to abandon defenses to such an extent as to endanger the welfare and security of its people. We should recognize, however, that national interest is not inconsistent with a regard for the interests of other nations and the well-being of people everywhere.

Our foreign aid programs, now an important part of national policy, should be based on mutual interests we share with aided countries. The program should reflect both a real caring about what happens to other nations and an enlightened conception of national interest that knows that our nation has a stake in the capacity of other nations to achieve political stability and higher standards of living.

Christian purposes and national interest have much in common: preventing nuclear war, preserving as wide an area of freedom as possible,

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helping nations everywhere to find their way to greater economic and political health. But there remain tensions of which the churches must be aware—in the range of responsibility to be accepted, in the method used, and in the tendency of governments and nations to use Christian symbols to support narrow interests and perspectives.

Christian Imperatives

Christian faith in the redeeming love of God revealed in Christ should enable us to live in the world as it is, to make hard choices between real alternatives without self-deception or despair, and confiding in divine mercy, to bear the burden of evil involved in even the best that we find to do.

We are called to be open to the needs and aspirations and fears of other nations. We are called to face new realities with the freshness of mind that is the fruit of repentance. It is the function of the church to help its members grow in grace and in wisdom as they seek to relate their faith to their decisions as citizens.

SPECIAL RESOURCES

For further reading we suggest:

1. The Message of the Fifth World Order Study Conference, which is included in *Christian Responsibility* on a Changing Planet. 35 cents.

2. "Why Should the Church Speak on International Relations?" by Clifford Earle, an article in *Presbyterian Life*, January 15, 1959.

NOW LET'S THINK AND TALK

- 1. In times of peril like these, when catastrophic war is such a dangerous possibility, how can a person believe that God rules the world?
- 2. What does it mean to be responsible to God and for our neighbors who are affected by our decisions?
- 3. Discuss the statement: In the world of our time the social consequences of man's disobedience take on proportions no previous generations could have imagined.
- 4. Is it possible that God would let men destroy our civilization in atomic holocaust? What do we mean when we say that we live under the love and judgment of God?
- 5. Christians, we believe, are called to look for such goals in international relations as peace, economic and political institutions favorable to justice and freedom, and sound structures of world community. Discuss the statement: These goals are not distinctively Christian, but dedication to them is an essential part of the Christian life.
- 6. What relative importance should we attach to national interest as over against the interests of the world community? Where does Christian obedience lie when national interest seems to conflict with the interests of the world community?
- 7. Do the churches have the right to comment on world events or to advise the Government with respect to foreign affairs? On what aspects of international relations do the churches have the right to speak?
- 8. To what extent has your denomination "pronounced" on international relations? How widely are these deliverances known among the members of your church?

II

Power and Security in a Nuclear-Space Age

A responsible study of international relations must face squarely and early the overarching political reality of our time—the "cold war" between (1) the United States and its allies, and (2) the Soviet Union and its satellites. In this section we will consider all too briefly some of the complicated questions relating to national security, the role of the United Nations in keeping peace, the reduction and control of armaments, military policies, international cooperation.

The following comments are based on one of the reports of the Fifth World Order Study Conference.

READ WITH CARE

As we seek to relate the love of God revealed in Jesus Christ to the complex problems of our time, two temptations must be resisted—the temptation to be so impressed with complexities and difficulties that we fail to say clear words on issues that require moral judgment and, on the other hand, the equally strong temptation to overlook concrete problems in enunciating general principles.

Christians have a loyalty that transcends the nation. Their obligation is to God-given life. This does not mean that Christians should be indifferent to the survival of the na-

tion.

National Security

The question for American Christians is not simply whether the

United States is righteous but whether our national existence is valuable, both to the people of this country and to the life of mankind. However, the present and potential character of our country makes it possible for the United States to be of continued service to human welfare. At the same time we recognize that mankind may be served and enriched by a wide variety of social forms and cultures.

Security may not be thought of primarily in national terms. The Christian obligation to mankind and the technical developments of our time now combine to make a nationalistic concept of security morally and practically obsolete. Freedom, justice, social welfare, and security are indivisible.

What today threatens our security? The manifold aspects of the

revolution of our time challenge rather than threaten our basic security. The great threat to our security is the age-old problem of nations struggling for advantage and competing in armaments in a situation lacking order. The growth of Russian and Chinese military power controlled by and coupled with the communist movement and ideology is the present focus of this struggle.

The communist powers will acquiesce in a genuine coexistence only when their own continued existence demands it or when some of their basic convictions have been eroded.

We recognize that the aggressive tactics of the communist powers are caused, in part, by fear for their own security. American nuclear stockpiles and widely scattered military bases arouse apprehension. But their fear also arises out of a legitimate Western response to their own aggression.

Our response to communism should always include the recognition that the Western world is largely responsible for the movement's emergence. Communism is, in part, the



judgment of God upon our sins of omission and commission. Humility and repentance become us. But to underrate the

threat is no service to human wellbeing or to world peace.

The Security Role of the UN

It is our conviction that the best hope for the creation of a system of world order lies in the power of the United Nations to assume wider responsibilities. The United States should show a greater willingness to resolve disputes through the agencies of the UN and the World Court.

Armaments

There should be greater effort by the United States and other countries to reach disarmament agreements because of the increasing destructiveness of nuclear weapons and intercontinental missiles, because of the growing difficulty of bringing these weapons under inspection and control, and because of the large sums now spent on arms compared with provisions for economic assistance in a world plagued by hunger, disease, and illiteracy.

The United States should take greater initiation in negotiating agreements for the reduction, limitation, and eventual abolition of armaments. This involves:

 Continuing the suspension of nuclear weapons testing for a time to permit full exploration of the possibilities of reaching international agreements for the cessation of tests under United Nations inspection as proposed by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

 Continuing efforts to establish a permanent UN agency for the peaceful exploration of outer space.

• Continuing negotiations with the U.S.S.R. for a mutual aerial and ground inspection system to guard against surprise attack.

 Recognizing the close relationship between political settlements and disarmament and being more willing to broaden the framework of disarmament negotiations.

 Facilitating disarmament discussions within the UN for the purpose of prohibiting production of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and to transfer nuclear weapons stockpiles to peace-

ful purposes.

• Pressing for the creation of a permanent UN police force for border patrol, inspection, and the various functions of a genuine international police system.

Interim Military Policy

Until substantial progress has been made toward disarmament we must see that wisdom and imagination are used in controlling military force.

 We urge our Government to weigh methods for contributing to world security other than reliance

upon nuclear weapons.

• If the Government continues to rely in any way upon nuclear defenses, we urge that it be only for the deterrent effect that our possession of them may have on other nations.

 If any such weapons are to remain in our possession, we urge that precautions be taken against the danger of nuclear war arising from mis-

understanding or error.

• With respect to providing military aid to other nations the United States should give due regard to the character of the recipient governments, the effects of the aid on their economies and political systems, and the effects on neighboring states.

Peaceful Competition and International Co-operation

The nuclear stalemate prompts both the Soviets and ourselves to shift competition to nonmilitary fields. American leaders ought to welcome peaceful competition in ideas, institutions, and conceptions of the good life.

We should recognize that impor-

tant segments of mankind are not allied with either side. The neutralizing of many nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America should be welcomed as a valid "third" position.

The United States should:

• Seek continuation of the International Geophysical Year;

• Extend trade and travel with mainland China, Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union;

 Encourage association and fellowship of various professions and groups across the Iron Curtain;

• Explore more effective use of its surplus food for distribution in communist countries and in underdeveloped nations;

 Implement programs for united attacks on common problems in the fields of health and nutrition;

Invite wider U.S.S.R. participation in UN technical assistance programs;

- Encourage private investments in underdeveloped areas with appropriate safeguards both for the private investor and for the host nation;
- Encourage religious and philosophic dialogue above the level of present political struggles.

Call to the Churches

We call upon the members of the Christian churches:

To dedicate themselves to the task of working in a spirit of Christian love for the healing of the nations;

To pray for a spirit of penitence for the selfishness of our affluent society in a world of need;

To make common cause with the disadvantaged and disposed for the realization of their hopes and freedoms;

To transfer the conflict of ideas and ideologies from the battlefield to the realm of peaceful accommodation and the rule of law;

To translate into reality the old Russian proverb, "Mountains may never come together but men can."

SPECIAL RESOURCES

For further reading we recommend the following background papers prepared for the Fifth World Order Study Conference:

1. "The Power Struggle and Security in a Nuclear-Space Age," by Harold E. Stassen.

2. "Can the Cold War Be Ended?"

by D. F. Fleming.

3. "Some Presuppositions of the Cold War," by John C. Bennett.

4. "On Some Conflicts in Military Policy," by George W. Rathjens, Jr.

5. "National Security and the Moral Problem," by Kenneth W. Thompson.

NOW LET'S THINK AND TALK

- 1. Consider the statement: In relating the love of God to the problems of our time two temptations must be resisted—the temptation to be so impressed with complexities and difficulties that we fail to say clear words on moral issues and the equally strong temptation to overlook concrete problems in the enunciation of general principles. To what extent do the churches succumb to one or the other of these temptations? How can the churches avoid these pitfalls in speaking responsibly to the complicated issues of our day?
- 2. What aspects of the American life are worth perpetuating? Or let us put the question another way, In what various ways can the United States continue to serve and enrich the life of mankind?
- 3. Consider these three related questions, which are basic to the discussion of the problem of security: Why does the United States fear Soviet Russia? Why does Soviet Russia fear the United States? What must each side do to allay the fears and suspicions of the other side?
- 4. Discuss the role of the United Nations in relation to security. What wider responsibilities should the UN assume if real world order is to be established?
- 5. Reread the comments in the preceding section regarding the reduction and control of armaments. How far has progress been made along the six lines suggested in the comments?
- 6. To what extent should our Government continue to rely on military alliances with other nations in safeguarding our own security? Discuss the statement: In providing military aid to other nations, the United States should give due regard to: (a) the character of the receiving government; (b) the effects of the aid on their economics and political systems, and the effects on neighboring states.
- 7. Discuss the statement: Important segments of mankind are not aligned with either side. (It should be noted that our Government recognizes the neutralism of many nations in Asia and Africa as a valid "third" position.) What countries would you include in a list of neutral nations? Is this third position a broad enough category to include, for example, both India and the United Arab Republic?

III

Overseas Areas of Rapid Social Change

In this session of our study of international relations in the nuclear-space age we are concerned with our common responsibility, as Christians and as citizens, toward the newly developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The comments that follow are based on one of the reports of the Fifth World Order Study Conference.

READ WITH CARE

Christian responsibility toward the areas of rapid social change is based on the belief, common to all Christians, that all men are children of God with the same right to food, health, and the pursuit of happiness; that all the goods of the earth are free gifts of God, given to us in stewardship and to be used for the benefit of mankind; that Christ revealed God's love for all men; that the love of God impels us to love our fellow man wherever he may be; that indeed what we do toward the least of our brothers we do to him; and that the richness of God's grace in our hearts naturally overflows into deeds of love for the benefit of others.

As Christian citizens we recognize that all nations stand under the judgment of God. While we must take account of the national interest we cannot disregard the whole human family which God has made. Policies based on selfish and narrow conceptions of national interest will in the end be self-defeating. The great resources committed to us we hold under God, not as owners, but as stewards. We have no right to use them to exercise domination or control over other peoples. Association with people from many lands in the ecumenical Christian fellowship has deepened our sense of responsibility and extended our understanding of the needs of other nations.

Dimensions of the Problem

We are in a period of profound revolution. Previously static societies are on the move. The needs of these societies are enormous and are aggravated by population explosions to which the societies find it difficult to adjust. The very fact that the societies are changing creates continually new problems, which the societies have to learn to handle. Together with the peoples in the areas of rapid social change we must face the fact that, even under the best of circumstances, it will take years to meet their just aspirations. Citizens in the United States must be prepared to share with their overseas brothers the burden of constant frustrations and long-continued effort.

Our Responsibility as Churchmen

It is natural that we think of our Christian responsibility first in connection with the work of the churches. Missionaries and other Christian workers in the areas of rapid change have pioneered in the programs of health, education, and development. Christians should support the overseas work of their churches as well as co-ordinated effort such as Church World Service and the Division of Inter-Church Aid and Service to Refugees of the World Council of Churches. This support involves the obligation of each Christian to be informed.

Our Responsibility as Citizens

Many problems, however, cannot be solved by the churches or by other private groups alone. Christians are also citizens, and as such we must be concerned with (1) the selection of able public servants, (2) the formulation of sound public policies, (3) the enactment of legislation to implement these policies.

We believe that substantially larger sums of money should be made available through the Government as well as from private sources for economic development in the areas of rapid social change. We note with approval the growing recognition of the importance of such assistance on the part of the Federal

Government. Yet we could increase our support at least four times and still be allocating for this purpose less than 1 per cent of our gross national product.

Money should be made available for economic development through as many channels as can be usefully employed, both bilateral and increasingly multilateral, such as United States and UN technical aid programs, the United States Development Loan Fund, the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund, the International Finance Corporation, the International Development Authority. Even though larger sums could not, in most cases, be utilized immediately, we feel they should be provided to make longrange programing possible. These resources are in addition to private aid and private capital because of the vast needs for schools, hospitals, dams, and other basic facilities.

We do not believe it is wise to attach political and military strings to economic aid. But the scarcity of resources imposes the need for standards of efficient use.

We are concerned with the mutuality of our decision-making. It is neither our task nor our right to impose on others what we think they ought to want. It is imperative, however, to develop priorities.

We realize that we have our own problems, such as urban renewal, more adequate care of the aging and sick, the need for schools. We urge fellow Christians to be ready to make the necessary sacrifices to meet these goals of our conscience.

Christians should be aware of the need to pursue domestic policies that will raise our own efficiency so that we may use our resources more effectively for all urgent needs. Unemployment is not only a personal tragedy, but a waste of resources. We urge Christians to support (1) the reciprocal trade program and other policies designed to encourage world trade, and (2) the increased use of our surplus commodities under such arrangements as will further economic development as well as alleviate immediate suffering.

Though we talk about economics, we are interested in the total well-being of people. As long as the average life expectancy in large parts of the world is less than thirty years, as long as there are periodic famines, it is necessary first to establish the minimum basis for a decent life.

Responsibilities in the Field of Business and Industry

We urge that American enterprises operating abroad make greater efforts to carry over into developed areas the human and social gains that are the fruits of a century and a half of business and labor leadership in the Western world, of social awakening, of education, and of legislation. Various human costs that a generation ago were outside the scope of "profit and loss" reckoning are now increasingly recognized as legitimate and necessary charges. Many business operations overseas in which American capital and management are involved now make provision for these costs; but others still participate in socially destructive practices such as restrictions based on race, forms of migratory labor that preclude normal family life, and submarginal remuneration. The establishment of

minimum standards in this field should be the joint concern of ownership, management, and tradeunionism. Many American Christians participate in these activities and have the special responsibility for expressing through them their basic ethical concern for other people.

Christian Concern with Persons

The human factor plays a crucial role in all programs. Trained, competent, and devoted leadership is essential to all development programs. Higher education and technical training must have high priority. International visits and exchanges are important factors in promoting mutual understanding.

From the churches has come a succession of devoted men and women over the years who, learning languages and cultures of other countries, have identified themselves with the people and have made outstanding contributions. In addition to missionaries many thousands of American Christians are now serving overseas in a great variety of secular capacities. Their potential influence is incalculable.

We recommend that facilities be made available under interdenominational auspices for Christian orientation, training, and guidance of American personnel entering upon service overseas.

We recommend also that provision be made under suitable auspices for the establishment of an ecumenical placement service whereby qualified Christian personnel from many countries may be more readily found for professional and technical service with agencies of development.

SPECIAL RESOURCES

For further reading, we especially recommend three background papers for the Cleveland Conference and an issue of Social Action:

1. "Christian Responsibility Toward Economic Development in Areas of Rapid Social Change," by Wolfgang F. Stolper.

2. "Responsibilities in the International Community for Development in New Member States," by David Owen.

3. "Economic Development and the Christian Point of View," by Wil-

lard L. Thorp.

4. "The Population Explosion," Social Action, December, 1958. 25 cents.

NOW LET'S THINK AND TALK

- 1. By areas of rapid social change we generally mean the countries and the territories of Asia and Africa, including the Middle East and Latin America. What are some of the characteristics of the revolution taking place in these areas? Broadly speaking, how are the people of these areas affected by (a) the rise of nationalism, (b) industrialization, (c) urbanization, (d) transformation of village life, (e) changes in the status of women, (f) the development and practice of democracy, (g) programs of health, (h) education, (i) population increases? What are the bad as well as the good effects of these developments?
- 2. To what extent, and in what ways, are the changes that are taking place in Asia, Africa, and Latin America the result of the impact of the West?
- 3. In discussing American responsibilities toward the areas of rapid social change, emphasis is often placed on economic relationships and programs. Why is this the case? What other kinds of responsibility does the United States have toward these areas?
- 4. Discuss the way in which the churches of the United States have been a factor in bringing about social change and upheaval in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.
- 5. Do you believe that economic assistance to the newly developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America should be an essential part of United States foreign policy? What criteria should be used, if any, in working out mutual aid agreements with these countries? Under the Marshall Plan after World War II, there were times when our Government was contributing to the restoration of the war-battered countries the equivalent of nearly 2 per cent of our gross national product. Our present outlay for economic assistance is about ¼ of 1 per cent of our gross national product. Do you think the American people could be persuaded to support an increase of foreign economic assistance to an amount representing about 1 per cent of our gross national product? What sacrifices on our part must be made if our country is to measure up to its full responsibility toward the areas of rapid social change?
- 6. What can we do, as Christians and as citizens, to encourage American business enterprises operating abroad to develop criteria and standards for taking into account human and social values?
- 7. What do you think of the idea of interdenominational program in the United States for the Christian orientation and training of American personnel entering upon service overseas? Do you think it feasible to establish an ecumenical placement bureau whereby qualified Christian personnel from many countries may be made available for professional and technical services with agencies in the areas of rapid social change?

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Jhe Changing Dimensions of Human Rights

A fundamental consideration in any sound discussion of international relations is the whole area of fundamental human rights. International relations are for the good of people—all people. In this session we deal with some of the old and with some of the new aspects of human rights on this rapidly changing planet.

The comments that follow are based on a report from the Fifth World Order Study Conference.

READ WITH CARE

A star of major magnitude has arisen upon the horizon of international affairs within our lifetimethe rising expectations of peoples in every nation throughout the world for the fulfillment of human rights and fundamental freedoms. In the lands that have won their freedom from colonial control, in countries where the people are oppressed by dictatorial rule, in nations where human rights have not been enjoyed by minority groups as well as in those which have long enjoyed a large measure of civic and political rights, there is insistent demand for human dignity embracing social, economic, moral, and religious values. We welcome this stirring of hope, this noble aspiration in the souls of men.

We réjoice not only in the deepening demand for human rights but in the widening scope of the goals yet to be attained. Where formerly human rights were largely limited to those political rights which governments could protect, they now include a galaxy of social and economic goals in the attainment of which people look to their governments as instruments.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights in ten brief years has had great influence upon the constitutions of governments, the treaties of nations, and the deliberations of the United Nations. It embraces such goals as equality before the law without discrimination, freedom of travel from one's own country and return thereto, freedom of religion, the right to marry and found a family, the equal freedom of organization and collective bargaining, the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of one's self

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and family, and the right of everyone to a free public education for at least the elementary and fundamental stages.

We believe these rights are attainable and necessary for all persons in the United States, as well as for

people everywhere.

We note the growing awareness that the denial of rights to people in any nation becomes a threat to the peace of the world and is a proper concern of international relations and of the United Nations.

Our Christian faith constrains us to confess our creaturehood, our tendency to error, our evil, and our sin. Before God we are equal not only in our essential dignity but in our dependence and our need. We stand together under the judgment of God, for we have neither attained the nobility he would give us, nor have we achieved it for others. We recognize that God is the Lord of history and that our human rights are the gift of God, and therefore should not be withheld by human beings. We acknowledge our responsibility for our own use of the rights bestowed upon us, and also for the attainment of our neighbor's rights, even though he may not appear to desire them, and some may wrongly think he does not deserve them.

Another basis for human rights rests in the sovereign rule of God as observed in the laws of nature. The Declaration of Independence of the U.S.A. speaks of "certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." The Declaration further states that these natural human rights are endowed by man's Creator.

A further expression of man's

basic natural rights is to be found in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which recognizes "the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family." This dignity inheres in man as man, whether rich or poor, citizen or alien, a member of the majority or minority. It resides in man regardless of his race, color, nationality, religion, social or class origin, language, citizenship, or any outward circumstance.

The people of some nations find another ground for human rights in the consent or agreement of peoples. This often gives us a basis of cooperation with non-Christian and non-Western nations for the attainment of human rights.

In totalitarian states, whether communist or fascist, it is held that the state confers rights rather than that these rights derive from divine sanction, natural law, or democratic consent. We hold that human rights belong to persons because of what they are, not because of the power of the state.

As Christians we hold that rights and duties are inseparable. Every right implies a corresponding duty. No one can claim a right at the expense of a more important right for others. We acknowledge our responsibility to seek the attainment of fundamental human rights for every person, but we confess our failure to achieve them for many of our fellow countrymen and neighbors in other lands. Our failure does not diminish our responsibility to work with men of good will for their attainment everywhere.

We do not condone the fact that many now living will probably not enjoy the full spectrum of human rights and fundamental freedoms. We must work continuously and resolutely for the realization of these rights at the earliest possible moment and in the fullest possible degree.

Recommendations

1. We urge the Department of State to present to the United States Senate, with its strong support, the Genocide Convention adopted by the United Nations and ratified by fifty-eight sovereign states. This convention to prevent the persecution and extermination of minorities was initiated by an American citizen and supported by our delegates in the United Nations, but it has never reached the floor of the United States Senate for ratification.

2. We urge our Government to consider, on their individual merits, other conventions drafted by the United Nations for the enforcement of human rights.

3. We support the right of representatives of the press to travel in other lands in the interest of gathering and disseminating information.

4. In view of reports of the oppression of peoples in many parts of the world, we call upon the United States Government to encourage by peaceful means the development of responsible self-determination in these areas, the preservation of the distinctive cultures of racial, ethnic, and linguistic groups, the protection of the right of minorities against extinction or forced assimilation, and the achievement of human rights by peoples to whom they have been denied.

5. For many years there has been

developing a growing good will among the races in the United States. Some of this good will unfortunately was associated with certain assumptions of inherent racial inequality. This we repudiate as unworthy of followers of Christ. Some of it was based upon the more fundamental respect for the dignity of human beings as equal in the sight of God.

In parts of the country we now witness a tragic worsening of the situation provoked by propagators of fear, prejudice, and hate.

As Christians concerned with human brotherhood, with human rights, with the dignity of the individual, and especially with the full flowering of the possibilities of childhood and youth, we believe the time has come for the President to call a White House conference of national leaders to give encouragement and support to the healing and law-abiding forces throughout our nation.

6. Whereas the national and regional church bodies have strongly supported the decisions of the Supreme Court, and have otherwise concerned themselves with human rights in the field of race relations, we call upon the churches and their members to carry out the provisions of those resolutions in local churches and communities.

In conclusion, we are mindful of our individual and personal responsibility for the attainment of human rights. All our relationships affect human rights and we realize that our daily actions either contribute to or detract from their realization in the lives of others.

lives of others.

God's Holy Word speaks to our present condition: "What does the Lord require of you but to do justly, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God?" "If any one would be first, he must be last of all and servant of all." "I came that they may have life, and have it abundantly." "He [God] made from one every nation of men to live on all the face of the earth." In the light of these truths we rededicate ourselves and our churches to the furtherance of human rights for all people.

SPECIAL RESOURCES

We recommend:

- 1. "The Changing Dimensions of Human Rights," by Ray Gibbons (a background paper for the Fifth World Order Study Conference).
- 2. "Human Rights," Social Action, November, 1958. 25 cents. Council for Christian Social Action, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.
- 3. The Kingdom Beyond Caste, by Liston Pope. \$1.25. Westminster Book Stores.

NOW LET'S THINK AND TALK

- 1. Such goals as the following are included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: equality before the law without discrimination, freedom of travel, freedom of religion, the right to marry, the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of one's self and family, the right to a free public education. To what extent are these rights observed (a) in the United States, (b) in other countries of the so-called West, (c) in the newly developing countries of Asia and Africa, (d) in communist lands?
- 2. What would you say is the Christian basis of our concern with human rights?
- 3. Do you think the churches have the right and duty to oppose racial segregation and discrimination in "secular" society when they themselves are segregated?
- 4. Are there any laws and/or customs in your city or state that require discrimination against minority persons in public accommodations, sports, education, recreation, employment? What do you think should be the church's attitude and action toward a person who defies these laws and/or customs?
- 5. Discuss the relationship between rights and duties. Note what the comments above say on this subject. How can we "seek the attainment of fundamental human rights for every person"?
- 6. What should be the church's attitude toward (and relationship to) a secular organization that is sincerely and responsibly working for racial justice and fair play? Are such groups at work in your city?
- 7. Discuss the implications of the statement: If a person's relationship with God is right, his relationship with his fellow men is too.
 - 8. Discuss the six recommendations in the comments above.

$\overline{\mathrm{V}}$

International Institutions and Peaceful Change

Here we come to grips with a critical issue in international relations—the lag between world organization and world community. The problem is that the governments have at their hands what could be adequate instruments for the building of peace and world order, but lack the will to use them. The failure is not in the instruments but in the nations.

The comments that follow are based on a report from the Fifth World Order Study Conference.

READ WITH CARE

As the world becomes increasingly knit together and interdependent, more and more areas of life become "international." When national decisions such as trade and monetary policies or immigration legislation impinge on the lives and livelihoods of other peoples, the traditional definitions of domestic jurisdiction are seen to be too narrow. Failure to take this expanding international interest into account spells tension and trouble. Thus, there is new urgency for developing reliable methods of peaceful settlement and peaceful change.

The need is magnified by the revolutionary pace at which international life is changing. In an atomic age the dangers involved in failure to achieve peaceful adjustment of relations to changing conditions are of a new order of magnitude. The task of developing new and revitalized procedures of peaceful settlement and change, to harmonize the policies of nations, to reduce injustice, and to ease conflicts arising from discordant interests, presses a primary claim to attention.

Attention is here directed to the better use and improvement of available procedures. However, new international methods and institutions for the pursuit of justice and reasonable compromise, which are consonant with the United Nations Charter, seem clearly needed and merit greater international attention.

As churchmen, it is not our function to spell out technical answers to the question of peaceful settlement and peaceful change. Rather it is our duty to remind our people and their Government of the heightened importance this question has assumed, to press for responsible measures, and to help create the attitudes that will sustain them. Beginning at the parish level, it is necessary to cultivate a new understanding of and sensitivity to the international implications of national actions, and a new willingness to delegate sovereignty in specified areas to international authority. The accelerated tempo of interdependence must be matched by the quickened acceptance of its obligations.

Diplomacy

In the world now emerging, with its multiplied international contacts and conflicts, diplomatic relations acquire an enhanced significance. We need to appreciate the important role that a well-trained and responsible diplomatic service can play both in the day-to-day adjustment of differences between nations and in the reinforcement of the multilateral procedures. Competent young people should be helped to find a Christian vocation in this field.

We believe that the traditional concept of diplomatic recognition as a means for talking with a government in power is more relevant to today's needs than the newer idea of recognition as a sign of moral or political approbation. The latter notion, if applied consistently, would greatly reduce diplomatic contacts, which the times require.

The United Nations

The procedures available through the United Nations provide the main new resource for peaceful settlement and peaceful change. The record of the UN to date, even though it necessarily reflects the weakness of a di-

vided world, proves that it lives and grows in this time of trouble. As a world forum, as a means to peaceful settlement, as a method of harmonizing the actions of nations for human welfare, the UN has made important headway. Chiefly in the field of security has the original plan envisaged in the Charter broken down. Yet even here, the existence of the UN has made a difference.

The principle of universality of membership seems to us a sound principle: that all nations willing to accept the obligations of the Charter be admitted. Although many members, including the United States, have not lived up fully to their Charter obligations, and some have been gravely disloyal, member states have undoubtedly acted in ways more consonant with the principles of the Charter than they would have acted if they had been outside. Membership provides the international community with opportunity for affecting the attitudes of states and consequently with leverage for modifying their policies. Important issues like disarmament require an inclusive approach for effective solutions.

While the United Nations must continue to grow if it is to live, we do not find revision of the Charter a live option at this time. There are, however, important possibilities for growth in the better utilization of existing instruments, in the development of powers inherent in the Charter, and in the creation of new powers by common consent without formal change in the Charter.

It is gratifying to see the vitality exhibited by certain organs and activities of the UN in relation to peaceful settlement and change. The General Assembly has made important contributions in this field. The programs to further economic and social development, to promote the advancement and emancipation of dependent peoples, and to help care for those uprooted by war and tyranny, stand in the front rank of efforts for peaceful change. We would particularly congratulate the Secretary-General on the initiative he has shown in helping to bring about the peaceful settlement of disputes through the exercise of what he called "quiet diplomacy" and the powers inherent in his office.

The availability of various instruments for peaceful settlement and change, however, does not mean that these are adequate. Reinforcement is needed along various lines. We believe that the United States and other governments, which have gravely limited the operation of the International Court of Justice through domestic jurisdiction reservations, should remove these obstacles to judicial handling of justifiable disputes. These reservations have retained for the nations involved the decision as to whether an issue is domestic or international in character. The Court, rather than a party to a dispute, should decide whether the dispute is international in character.

Likewise the procedures of the Peace Observation Commission and kindred means for peaceful settlement need to be made more dependable, and more automatic in operation. Delegation of authority for initiating such procedures to international rather than national decision could help to this end. The decision to send POC teams or repre-

sentatives of the Secretary-General into an area of tension might well rest with the POC, the Secretary-General, or some other UN body, rather than depend upon the initiative of a nation caught in a crisis.

If it is not practical or desirable to establish at this time a permanent UN peace force, we would urge that the UN give further thought to the ways and means of bringing an emergency force into being on the shortest possible notice.

In regard to situations likely to generate a threat to the peace, special UN commissions of in-

quiry acceptable to both sides might be used. The ground rules for such commissions would need to be worked out carefully, lest their work aggravate tensions rather than prove remedial and curative. Our main point is that more attention needs to be paid to wise anticipatory action before tensions generate crises. It seems clear that better procedures for the pursuit of international justice are required to reduce the perils of this atomic age.

Regional Institutions

We believe that churchmen and the American people generally should pay much more attention to the wide variety of regional association in which the United States participates. These bodies, in so far as they are congruent with the purposes of the United Nations and subordinate to its jurisdiction, can supplement the peacemaking functions of the UN in highly important ways. Where such associations are based on the common loyalties and inter-

ests of a regional community, they can reduce the issues that press upon the world organizations and pioneer in the development of international procedures for which the latter is not yet ready. We believe that the curative functions of regional bodies should be emphasized and undergirded—their work for economic and social advancement and for the development of international law.

It is our considered judgment that the newly emerged and emerging nations-economically underdeveloped, insufficiently possessed of scientific, technical, and organizational personnel, inadequate in educational resources-need far greater help from us than they are receiving. In the name of our common God and Father we call upon our nation and upon our brothers among the Western European powers to provide the needed help. Let us overcome, once and for all, the measurement of our responsibilities in this field by the scales of benevolent parsimony. Let us hasten ourselves to that measure of effort and sharing which the steady advancement of economic adequacy and human freedom require of us.

Reference should also be made to functional international organizations, such as the specialized agencies and lesser bodies, which unite nations around common problems or around common interests. By building a sense of community in limited fields, such as agriculture or communications or navigation, these special groups can develop habits of co-operation, which are helpful in easing conflicts in other areas. Also they can make essential contributions for peaceful change.

The Churches and Other Voluntary Organizations

The churches, their missionary and service agencies, their organizational and interdenominational departments, make important contributions to better understanding and to the peaceful settlement of problems. Many business and labor organizations and nongovernmental groups focusing on international affairs likewise contribute to peace.

It is the clear duty of church members to inform themselves on world affairs, to support their own church agencies, and to witness their Christian convictions in secular organizations. As citizens, Christians have a major responsibility to bring constructive influences to bear upon the formulation and conduct of foreign policy. Peace depends on the hearts and minds of men, and every Christian has a vocation to contribute to the peace of his world through his efforts as an individual and as a member of a church.

In contacts between churches across international boundaries, as well as in the broader relations of the ecumenical and missionary movements, Christians can help to build mutual understanding, and to fashion a favorable climate of opinion for peaceful settlement and peaceful change.

SPECIAL RESOURCES

For further reading we would recommend a background paper prepared for the Fifth World Order Study Conference and a book on the UN:

1. "International Institutions and

Peaceful Change," by Richard M. Fagley.

2. The United Nations and How It

Works, by David C. Coyle. 50 cents. The New American Library, 501 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.

NOW LET'S THINK AND TALK

- 1. Discuss the statement: As the world becomes increasingly knit together and interdependent, more and more areas of life become "international." Cite some examples of how domestic or even local decisions and practices have global effects.
- 2. Do you think that diplomacy is a field of work in which young people can find a Christian vocation? Do you think of diplomacy as being concerned with national interest, or with world community, or with both?
- 3. What is your evaluation of the United Nations as a force for peace? Do you think you know enough about the UN to have a sound judgment about it? What is the responsibility of the church, if any, for increasing local understanding and support of the UN? What would be the outcome if all churches and Christians took the position you take? If you feel that the church has a responsibility for promoting support and understanding of the UN, what are some of the things it can do to accomplish this?
- 4. Comment on the principle of universality of membership—the idea that all nations willing to accept the obligations of the UN Charter be admitted. What do you think would happen if the People's Republic of China (Red China) declared its willingness to accept the obligations of the Charter and applied for membership?
- 5. How, do you think, can the UN be improved and strengthened? To what extent can the changes you desire be accomplished without revising the UN Charter?
- 6. Discuss the problem of providing a UN police force. Has the work of the UN emergency force in the Middle East been successful? How effective has the "quiet diplomacy" practiced by the UN's Secretary-General been in helping to create understanding and to resolve tensions?
- 7. Are church pronouncements at all useful in helping to build mutual understanding between nations and in fashioning a favorable climate of opinion for peaceful settlement and peaceful change? What has your church said on the subject?

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VI

Missions, Service, and International Relations

In this last session of our study, we consider the overseas work of the churches in relation to the concern of international affairs. We touch also on the responsibility of the local church (a) to keep its people informed, and (b) to influence the formation of public policy.

The comments that follow are based on a background paper prepared by a special commission of which Dr. Alford Carleton was rapporteur for the Fifth World Order Study Conference.

READ WITH CARE

There was a time, a century or more ago, when nearly the whole of the international relations of the people of the United States was carried, quite informally, by the missionaries of the churches, serving around the world outside of Europe and the Americas. There were no other contacts. No foreign businessman was "pushing" American products. There were no diplomatic representatives except in very large centers. Those who were in such posts represented a United States that was a rather insignificant power with no share in power politics. It was a period of "spontaneous Westernization," particularly in Asia, the social and industrial revolution in Japan being the most conspicuous example. The missionary rarely considered it his function to introduce foreign ways and foreign products, and to the extent that he did so, it was in response to the desire in that direction on the part of the indigenous people themselves.

Of all the "foreigners" now abroad, it is still true that in most cases it is the missionary who learns the language and stays a lifetime among the same people, building up personal friendships and a reservoir of respect given to few others. The missionary has learned the hazards of careless identification of religion and culture far better than the average Christian at home. He can see his own country in far better perspective.

Also, from early mission times until now, there have been found among missionaries men of the stature and understanding able to serve not only as interpreters between the culture of their land of adoption and the culture of their land of origin, but

also as distinguished servants in the field of international relations.

Changes in Recent Decades

The primary changes are those which can be statistically confirmed. including the population explosion and the great modifications in society brought about by mobility and the technique of mass communications. More important than the newspaper has been the radio and more fundamental than the radio, the autobus enabling villagers to break the isolation of centuries and to come in contact with civilization in the sense of town and city life. The converse of the same changes has been the power put into the hands of government or other pressure groups whereby people can be influenced and, if necessary, coerced into a new point of view or way of life. Movies, circulated without any consideration of suitability or of the pictures they give of Western civilization, have also gone into many remote towns as well as the cities of Asia and Africa. The result of all these factors is a restlessness best described by a recent traveler who speaks of "the depths of turmoil" in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

With changes in mobility and communication, multiple agencies from the Western nations moved into the areas of cultural contact that had for decades been a monopoly of the missionary. The businessman brought imported consumer goods, which often could undersell local products and thereby disrupt the entire handicrafts and guild system. The diplomats and political agents arrived in greater numbers and the United States began to play a more active

part in the game of power politics. The tourists later came in great numbers also, spending money freely regardless of the effect on the marginal earning power of the indigenous people. Then came the military in many lands, in both World Wars, staying on following the Second World War. Soon after, Point Four and the Mutual Security Program entered with a massive impact in many areas, often overshadowing the previously existing concrete expressions of good will in the form of medical, agricultural, and industrial missionary projects. The missionary is by now largely indistinguishable in crowd of others from the United States. It should be remarked, however, that the missionary's contacts with these other groups in the land of his adoption have opened up to him a field of influence that can be very important, however timeconsuming, in the promotion of international understanding.

The secondary changes, largely the outcome of the new mobility, communication, and social contact, include all the ideologies and "isms." Among these is communism, which is too often treated as a cause and not often enough recognized as a symptom of the turmoil in Asia today. More significantly these secondary changes include nationalism also, and a nationalism often directly linked with a revival of ethnic religion. Nationalism has strong positive as well as negative aspects. People of the United States will do well to remember that their own nationalism plays its part in making more difficult the struggle of the Christian church for a truly ecumenical outlook.

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Among the changes of recent decades an important one was the rise of independent churches in many areas of the world, taking over from the foreign missions the main power and direction of Christian activity. Whether through missions churches, however, the Christian program overseas has continued a massive program of activity with vital influence upon international relationships. The churches and mission boards having relationship the National Council of with Churches maintain over ten thousand workers overseas, and spend annually close to a hundred million dollars in regular and nonrecurring grants. This does not include Roman Catholic churches and missions, or the large number of churches and Christian movements not represented in the National Council of Churches.

The related programs of Church World Service and of the denominational world service agencies carry on a ministry of relief and reconstruction in Southeast Asia and Africa, with an annual valuation of some sixty million dollars. Again the impact, both direct and indirect, upon international relations—and on the people-to-people level even more than the government-to-government level—is incalculable.

Areas of Current Readjustment

There are at the present time at least three areas in which administrative arrangements and terminology are under intense discussion.

1. Missions and Service— Throughout its history the Christian church has recognized that it has a responsibility for its own growth and extension, by the process of mission or evangelism. The church has likewise recognized that it has a responsibility to mankind in all forms of aid to human welfare, without pressing for a promise of personal loyalty and conviction in return. Through the history of Christian missions there has been a continual record of unselfish service to mankind, and he would be no missionary who had no compassion for those in need, whether of his own faith, another faith, or no faith at all. Most great relief efforts of the past century in Asia have been developed in response to the urgent appeal of busy missionaries. The effectiveness of such service as Christian witness is almost directly proportionate to its freedom from "ulterior motives." On the other hand, he who would serve humanity, on an entirely "disinterested" basis but without any thought for the ultimate spiritual welfare of the man or the community served, would be a humanist and not a humanitarian. The functions of mission and service are distinguishable but inseparable.

2. Missions and the Mission of the Church—For many decades the Christian movement in Asia and Africa was largely related to foreign missions, meaning an organized outreach across the seas on the part of denominational bodies in various Western lands. Through the obvious need for collaboration between those agencies were planted some of the seeds of the ecumenical movement in the world today. An even more striking outcome was the success of mis-

sions in establishing churches that were encouraged to become "selfgoverning, self-propagating, and selfsupporting." So with many hesitancies and with varying measures of success, the thrust of the Christian movement passed from "the missions" to "the churches" overseas.

This gradual reorientation Christian thinking from that of "sending" and "receiving" countries, or from that of "older" as against "younger" churches, into the pattern of an interdependent Christian community with a "home base" everywhere, and with global responsibilities, will produce great changes not only in the administrative arrangements but-far more important -in the sense of genuine spiritual kinship among Christians of all lands. It is in the impact of that spiritual fellowship that there lies one of the major services of the Christian in the whole area of international relationships and the building of a fabric of understanding and peace among nations.

3. Patterns of Organization—The World Council of Churches and the respective National Councils are organized on the basis of member churches, that is, as denominations or confessions. Yet there is clear evidence that, on quite nontheological grounds, it is the national principle of organization that is slowly gaining ascendency over the denominational. The "scandal of division" has become a major obstacle to the progress of the Christian mission in lands abroad.

Conclusion

There are many questions in the

relationships between international affairs and the programs of mission and of service:

The impact of foreign military bases upon the church and its influence:

The effect on a church of being the channel for the distribution of United States surplus foods;

The inevitable tensions arising from the very diversities of income and standards of living in various segments of the world Christian community;

The interrelationship of problems of segregation in various lands;

The effect of nuclear weapons development and testing on Christian programs overseas;

The impact of United States movies around the world;

The confusion in the minds of the recipients between church and governmental programs of mutual aid;

The cultural and religious interchange represented by the students from abroad and other overseas visitors to the United States;

The psychological and political effect of the desire of people of the United States to be "liked" by everyone else;

The tendency toward confusion of "the American way of life" with the Christian gospel.

SPECIAL RESOURCES

For further reading we suggest interpretative literature published by the agency of our own denomination responsible for overseas work and by interdenominational agencies carrying on work in other parts of the world.

NOW LET'S THINK AND TALK

- 1. Consider the statement: Many Christians in the United States look upon the overseas mission of the churches as a form of enlightened self-interest. Others see it as part of the war against communism. Others cannot distinguish the Christian mission overseas from "spreading the American way of life." Have you encountered these views of the overseas work of the churches? To what extent are they found among church members? In what way are these views a distortion of the real fact?
- 2. What, if anything, can men and women engaged in a variety of non-church-related programs overseas (diplomatic, business, technical aid, international) learn from the generations of dedicated persons who have represented the world-wide outreach of the churches? This question can be considered in relation to such things as language facility, concern for persons, technical skill, human and social values, tenure of service, a measure of repudiation of Western standards of comfort and ways of life, identification with the people among whom one is working, complete willingness to accept people for what they are in spite of racial and cultural differences.
- 3. What has your church done in keeping its members informed of new developments in the overseas work of denominational and interdenominational agencies, especially in reference to the rise of national churches in many parts of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and the resulting drastic changes in the administration of what formally were mission stations and programs?
- 4. What has your church done to keep its officers and its members informed regarding the social deliverances of denominational and interdenominational bodies, especially the deliverances dealing with problems and needs in international relations? How can your church's program be improved in this respect? Here you may deal with possibilities such as church officer training, special training meetings and courses for new church members, the program of leadership development, and so on.
- 5. The comments above suggest several concerns "in the relationship between international affairs and the programs of mission and service." These are live concerns and deserve to be discussed.
- 6. How can your church help to influence the development of American foreign policy? To what extent do you think that it is right and proper for your church and its members to petition the Government with respect to decisions and policies affecting overseas areas in which the churches are working?
- 7. How can your church facilitate conversations and encounters with persons overseas or with persons from overseas visiting or studying in the United States?



PROGRAM

POINTERS

In these program notes several approaches to world affairs study and action are described. Global issues and responsibilities lifted up in a great national study conference must be grounded in the life and work of local congregations. This takes the perseverance of the saints as well as some understanding of how controversial and complex matters can be communicated to the average church member.

Getting People Interested

Most persons—in or out of the church—are primarily concerned about the things that touch their personal life, their families, and their pocketbooks. While they may feel both fear and futility about such questions as the control of H-bombs, or the Berlin crisis, they do not know how to take hold of them. They are apt to believe that foreign policies are determined by processes in which they have no voice or vote. Program planners and leaders, therefore, have to see how the personal lives of individual church members are affected by world events and how they can link purely personal interests with the larger public interests and responsibilities. Here are some illustrations:

All these persons have a personal involvement in international affairs without always realizing it: Mrs. A, who has a son on an air base in the

Mediterranean; Mr. B, who is a research chemist working on defense contracts; Miss D, who is concerned about the high taxes she has to pay out of her first earnings; Mrs. E, who wishes the church would give to missions. Program planners can expose people in the congregation to their international responsibilities by helping them to see that their own personal concerns cannot be separated from those of people in other parts of the world. In other words, they need to see the broad social consequences of their personal problems and decisions and, in turn, grasp the personal dimensions of planetary problems.

Making Controversy Creative

Protestant groups have often confused "harmony" and "agreement" with congregational unity. They have shunned discussion of any issue that would be divisive or controversial without realizing that wholesome interaction among members of the church, and expression of different points of view and opinion are essential to unity. When there is complete agreement there is apt to be smug complacency. This may be one reason why some church groups lack vitality and color. Discussion of almost any section of this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS will reveal differences of opinion. These differences will be actual assets in sparking interest and participation. Program

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planners must have a solid respect for freedom of inquiry and expression. They must have faith that people and situations can change.

Leadership of study and action groups on world affairs involves:

1. Establishing "ground rules" about respect for all points of view.

2. Framing questions that get dissenting views out in the open.

 Reminding group members that all human judgments and opinions stand under the judgment of God.

4. Moving the group as a whole toward its goals of understanding.

5. Helping all participants to see that Christian fellowship deepens and flourishes as group members confront one another's differences.

In all world affairs activities there should be room for the work of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is the spirit of truth, and as the group perceives possible solutions, alternatives, or next steps, some new truth may be revealed.

Then too, organizations that take a stand invite criticism and provoke controversy. As the people move into the world and grapple with powers and principalities, they expect some inevitable conflict. But they should feel fortified by the Christian community to live with tensions and conflicts, and see these as necessary for personal growth and prophetic efforts for justice.

The program suggestions follow the order of the various sections. However, in developing programs

Theologians All!

Our Protestant heritage affirms that every Christian should be a theofor study and action a church may wish to disregard this order, logian. Laymen no longer stay clear of theological discussions. The writings of Bonhoeffer, Kierkegaard, and Barth are no longer strange to the American laity, thanks to church officer training and the Christian Faith and Life curriculum. The ethical considerations of Christian responsibility in international relations deal with basic factors in Reformed theology. Indeed, to understand the very complexity and ambiguities of international relations we need a Biblical perspective.

From Section I, dealing with ethical considerations, study groups and adult Bible classes might list in two columns the following: in the first column Christian objectives for peace of the world, in the second column the objectives of United States foreign policy. Discuss places where these two overlap and places where there are continued tensions or conflicts and the tendency of governments and nations to use Christian symbols for narrow self-interest and perspectives. Or list in a single column what changes would be necessary in American foreign policy today with particular reference to the communist bloc if the churches were to take seriously the Biblical command that we are to love our enemies. A third possibility might be to discuss the ways in which American statesmen through the UN and in unilateral dealings with other nations might seek to be a reconciling force in a world of hostility and fear.

Opinionnaires

Opinionnaires are useful in stimulating individual thinking and plotting starting group participation. They are particularly useful in dealing with controversial issues where there are many complexities and ambiguities.

The material in Section II on power and security may be the most controversial of all the sections. An opinionnaire could open the subject and create a permissive climate in which opposing opinions can be faced. Adapt the "Opinion Ballot" Fact Sheets Nos. 1-9, published by Foreign Policy Association, \$1.00.

A World News Roundup

Study of our Christian responsibility in areas of rapid social change (see Section III) can be developed on a church-wide basis—the women's group taking an active interest in the study of the Middle East or Africa. becoming competent in understanding the particular problems of various countries in Africa, and how the fact of Western technology has influenced the social, economic, and political life of various sections of Africa. The 1960 foreign missions study emphasis on Africa has some useful tools for women's groups.

Youth Fellowship groups might adopt Latin American countries. Boys and girls might correspond regularly with young people in their adopted countries, and exchange

photographs, books, music.

Businessmen in the congregation should consider the planetary influence of trade, and the investment of American capital overseas for economic aid and technical assistance.

We have suggested in earlier issues of Social Progress the value of "ecumenical conversations" with church groups in areas of rapid social change. Older persons or shutins could participate in this project and compare notes on what has happened in American homes, cities, and schools, industry with countries overseas. Reports of these exchanges could be patterned after a national broadcasting world news roundup. with representatives from each group serving as commentators or narrators. In this exchange there could be firsthand discovery that technological change and world-wide revolution involve us all. The names and addresses of leaders in overseas churches may be secured from denominational mission boards. American churches may take the initiative in establishing the conversations with churches and groups of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Nearly forty thousand students from abroad study each year in American universities. Many will be ministers and heads of new social institutions of the future. Their experiences will have decisive influence on their future relationships with the U.S.A. Through Westminster Foundations and college deans, church groups and families have a great opportunity to establish continuing person-to-person ships that will be meaningful for years to come.

No one has had an opportunity to count the number of American churchmen who travel abroad for vacations. A youth group of the congregation could gather information about the history, art, cultural development, population change, industrialization, economic problems, foreign policy of the countries to be visited, and assemble it in portfolios.

The Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations has experimented with a week-long institute for church members who will be taking jobs in business or government overseas. Our American churches are privileged indeed when some of their members are at work overseas as "fraternal workers" or as businessmen or technicians or members of the diplomatic corps or the Armed Forces. American visitors and workers should establish liaison relationships with the home church and with churches in overseas communities through correspondence and reporting.

Human Rights Audit

The new dimensions of human rights discussed in Section IV suggest two courses of action for local groups: (1) an appraisal of the local community and how its practices compare with the international standards set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and (2) political action in support of such international measures as the Genocide Convention and the Covenant Against Forced Labor.

Letters to Senators summarizing a local church's reaction to the recommendations from the Cleveland Conference would be useful

Church Nights International

Church night programs offer an opportunity to expose persons not deeply interested in international affairs to the meaning of world events in their own personal lives. Material in Section V on international institutions offers many program possibilities. The United Nations provides the main theme, and UN aims and goals can be graphically presented. Foreign students and visitors from abroad should be spe-

cial guests. UN flags and posters make attractive wall decorations. Small paper flags of the eighty-two member nations may be place cards. Dishes may be prepared from the UN cookbook. The tables could represent the specialized agencies of the UN, or its principal organs.

One of the following UN films or filmstrips can be shown, with ample time allocated for small group discussion where there can be exchange of opinion.

Suggested Audio-Visuals

U.S. Foreign Economic Policy. Film, 29 minutes, black and white. Discussion of present and desirable United States policies on trade, foreign military and economic aid, and public and private investment abroad. Rental, \$8.00. World Affairs Center, UN Plaza at 47th Street, New York 17, N.Y.

The Growth of American Foreign Policy. Film, approximately 15 minutes, black and white. A history of the landmarks in United States involvement in the world, concluding with questions as how best we can exercise world leadership. Rental, apply to McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., Text-Film Department, 330 West 42d Street, New York 36, N.Y.

Report from the Near East. Sound film, 27 minutes, color. Many people in Egypt, Iran, and Jordan are trying to achieve a better way of life. The story of American technicians showing villagers, farmers, and desert dwellers how to build a firm foundation for an expanding future. Available free from Educational Film Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.

Dollars at Work in the Middle East—what UNESCO and other UN and United States agencies are doing in this area of growing importance. Filmstrip, color, 95 frames, \$5.00. UNESCO Publications Center, 801 Third Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.

Model UN Assembly

Churches, civic, and educational groups might be interested in developing a model UN Assembly as a community-wide experiment in international education. Materials and suggestions for setting up such a project may be secured from the Department of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

More than Compassion

In Section VI we see clearly how missions and service are inseparable but distinguishable. Acts of compassion and efforts to release the redemptive powers of the gospel in the world impel the church to be concerned about foreign policies.

Christians in the United States have demonstrated their kinship and recognition of the interdependent Christian community in what they have done for refugees.

Beginning in July, 1959, the UN

will observe World Refugee Year and give special attention to the continuing misery and hopelessness of about 15 million refugees.

Approximately 5,000 refugee families have been assisted by Presbyterians since World War II, and about 3,000 have been resettled with Presbyterian sponsorship. But these figures are hardly significant when we compare the vast resources of our denomination and the hordes of hopeless people awaiting resettlement and an opportunity to begin life anew.

Now is the time for SEA committees in presbyteries and local churches to work to secure sponsors and assurances in co-operation with our United Presbyterian Refugee Resettlement Committee. These committees should not let complicated administrative procedures discourage or frustrate them.

In World Refugee Year some attention should be given to our present immigration laws. At Easter recess there may be opportunity to visit with your Congressman and Senators, sound them out on their views about present restricted quotas and red tape. Or if a visit is not feasible, letters of inquiry would be useful.

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Worship & Resources

O GOD OF THE NATIONS

Call to Worship: Thus says the Lord: "Assemble yourselves and come, draw near together, you survivors of the nations! . . . Turn to me and be saved, all the ends of the earth! For I am God, and there is no other. . . . To me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear." (Isa. 45: 20, 22-23.) Let us worship God.

Hymn of Praise: "The God of Abraham Praise" Yigdal

Scripture: Jer. 12: 1-6, 14-17

Prayer of Petition: O God of the nations, who draweth no sword but the sword of righteousness, and speaketh no threat but the word of judgment; hear our prayer for peace in the earth. Break the demonic spell that draws the nations toward destruction; confound those whose god is power and whose prophet is science; raise up statesmen with wisdom as thou hast raised up spacemen with knowledge; strengthen those who would bind the atom to the cause of peace and support those who would redirect the forces of revolution toward a world of justice. And if it be thy sovereign will to loose upon the earth man-made fire from heaven, and we should see the end of all flesh, then sustain thy people with the knowledge of thy truth and bind them to the eternal Rock of their salvation, even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Meditation on Jeremiah: "How Will You Do Then?"

Text: Jer. 12:5—"If you have raced with men on foot, and they have wearied you, how will you compete with horses? And if in a safe land

you fall down, how will you do in the jungle of the Jordan?"

Theme: If life is hard in an age when men travel at the speed of sound, how will it be in an age when they travel at the speed of light? If missiles and rockets terrify us, how will we live with manned satellites? If the ordered life of America is hard, how will we do when the full impact of a world in revolution reaches us?

(Rev. John C. White, Willow Grove, Pennsylvania.)

Hymn of Trust: "God of Compassion"

O Quanta Qualia

Benediction: May the God of peace, who brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in his sight. Amen.

WHAT'S HAPPENING

A

In the Churches

Take your church-set it down in the midst of a neighborhood undergoing a tremendous population change. A neighborhood that was once predominantly white is now multiracial. Surrounding the church is a community of persons made up of approximately 35 per cent Caucasians; 50 per cent Negroes; 15 per cent Chinese, Indian-Americans, Mexican-Americans, and orientals. One finds a considerable concentration of Chinese families. How would you define the role of your church in this dynamic situation? What should be its immediate objectives?

One church, Southwest Presbyterian Church, Los Angeles, California, finds itself in exactly this kind of setting. How it is working toward the ideal of an integrated congregation is a thrilling story.

Progress that has been made has not come easily. A creative and imaginative pastor, a congregation fortunate to have an enlightened lay leadership, and an inspired presbytery and synod dedicated to providing adequate resources are the ingredients that have made progress possible.

Many factors that seem to threaten the attainment of the church's goal—the diminishing white population, the unpredictable nature of the changing neighborhood, complex intergroup divisions, emotional barriers, and a reticence on the part of some minority group persons to enter fully in the multiracial fellowship—have created situations that call for continuous evaluation of progress.

At the forefront of this pioneering effort is Rev. Max V. Terrow, stated supply pastor, who came to the work in late 1955, just two years before the first non-Caucasian member was received into the church. At the present time, about 50 per cent of the congregation is Negro. The program of the church is focused upon extending its ministry to all persons.

The activities of the new church program are varied. For example, thirty-five Chinese war brides have acquired American citizenship through the English and citizenship

classes provided by the church. Bilingual (Chinese and English) services are being conducted one Sunday each month. There is a class for children in cultural appreciation. A club program for children and youth is carried on during the week, with regular Youth Fellowship groups on Sunday. The pastor has been chairman of the Community Planning

Rev. Merrill R. Nelson, director of Special Ministries, Synod of California, has these words of advice for others who find themselves in similar situations: "The problem must be considered and honestly faced by the officers and members of a church seeking integration. Self-applied controls must be exercised by the group. Careful consideration must be given to the race of the staff people and members of the official body. Integration is an ideal that must be em-

Council.

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braced first of all by the official group, and from it through frank and understanding presentation to the congregation, and so on to the community. There must be continuous evaluation on the part of the official group, opportunity for the members of each racial group to 'let its hair down,' and absolute honesty."

Mr. Nelson has clearly stated the position of all who are concerned with this venture by saying: "We feel that upon its success and the success of others like it hangs so much of the hope of Protestantism for really achieving integration throughout the church. We hope that we do not choose, or are forced to choose, lesser goals. Our hope is that the neighborhood will remain multiracial. This church will by witness and community action seek to help it remain so."

The Presbytery of Detroit is building an enviable record in supporting and encouraging allied forces in the battle for racial integration. An example is found in a recent action whereby the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Detroit Branch, was the recipient of a \$500 contribution from the presbytery. Dr. Kenneth Nye, an executive of the Presbytery of Detroit and the Synod of Michigan, in making the presentation, said:

"This action was taken in recognition of the clear duty of the church to honor its historic mission in respect to safeguarding human rights.

"This is an expression of our concern for the protection of the civil rights of all Americans."

Political realities viewed against a background of Christian faith brought a new measure of understanding and new purpose for one group of United Presbyterians who are active in politics.

The group, which met at Schenectady, New York, was developed by the SEA Committee of the Presbytery of Albany-Troy. It included supervisors, a county judge, a county district attorney, a United States Congressman, and other local officials. Invitations were extended through the local churches of the presbytery.

This effort sought to implement a recommendation of the Synod of New York. The recommendation, previously presented to the synod by its SEA Committee, outlined a course of action that would provide a framework in which Christians could support fellow Christians in politics who were under pressure because of the tension of their faith and forces that would compromise their faith.

The full text of the synod's recommendation follows:

"Due to the widespread prevalence of investigations in regard to unethical conduct in government and the concern of the church in regard to the responsibility of the Christian in government, we recommend:

"That the SEA Committee of each presbytery convene a small group of Christian men and women who are vitally concerned about the Christian's responsibility toward government. These individuals are to be convened for the purpose of organizing a 'guild of concerned people,' such guild to be built upon a covenantal statement of Christian responsibility to government, devel-

oped by these persons. The statement

might include:

"1. A basic statement of the Christian's responsibility to and for government.

"2. A strategy of resistance to amoral pressures.

"3. Mutually supporting help for one another.

"4. A search for ways to enlarge this concerned covenantal relationship.

"5. An extension of this concern

through education for all."

A group from the Westport Presbyterian Church, Kansas City, Missouri, led by Mrs. D. H. Grimm, has petitioned the Motion Picture Association of America to help effect an improvement in the present American program of motion picture selections for overseas showing.

The group has worked extensively with foreign students and in international affairs educational activities. It has shared with the Motion Picture Association some of their observations concerning false, distorted, and unrealistic impressions about our country that have resulted from our present program.

One church finds that "Supper Eight" groups provide an ideal occasion for probing current issues that demand Christian understanding and action.

Groups of eight persons, who are members of the Mariner Class of Riverdale Presbyterian Church in Hyattsville, Maryland, meet regularly each month in one another's homes for supper and discussion. The many and varied resources of the church are utilized in planning for the study and discussions that ensue.

Recently several of the groups discussed the timely article "Why Should the Church Speak on International Relations?," which appeared in the January 15 issue of *Presbyterian Life*. Result: Group action endorsing the principles set forth in the article as a guide for its members in acting responsibly to issues in international affairs.

How should public schools deal with religion? What is the responsibility of Christians and Christian churches for the welfare of public schools and the children in them?

Among those who are seeking adequate answers to these questions is a Committee on Religion and Public Education of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

The committee is composed of 102 members appointed by 25 denominations, 12 state councils of churches, and several religious agencies.

The first working paper developed by the committee is being made available for study by any interested person in the hope that the shared concern may lead to improving this document. The committee will welcome from any source evaluations of the usefulness and substance of the paper or any part of it.

Copies of the working paper No. 1 are available at 50 cents per copy from the Office of Publication and Distribution, National Council of Churches, 120 East 23d Street, New

York 10, N. Y.

In Washington



The dominant note in the Washington news, as

we go to press, is the illness of Secretary Dulles and its far-reaching implications for United States foreign policy and the problems of world peace. President Eisenhower has entrusted the Secretary of State with almost absolute authority, and his physical disability at this critical juncture in world affairs, with a major conference on the Berlin crisis impending, is viewed with considerable alarm by many, both here and abroad. Although the President has stated that he will be in close touch with Secretary Dulles during his prescribed medical therapy, and a replacement is not being considered at this time, there is, nevertheless, an air of anxiety over the net effect of the Secretary's illness on the diplomatic scene.

A recent development in the foreign policy field may serve to mitigate some of the gloom engendered by Mr. Dulles' present incapacity, unfortunate as that may be. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is expected to have considerably more influence on foreign policy matters due to the fact that Senator I. William Fulbright (D., Ark.) has replaced ninety-year-old Senator Green as chairman. Senator Fulbright is an able foreign policy authority and has been frankly critical of the lack of initiative and imagination in Administration policy. His new position of influence may have a salutary effect on the whole foreign policy picture, though in the final analysis the control of foreign relations constitutionally rests in the White House.

Another development of importance in the area of foreign policy was the President's special message to Congress, early in February, asking support for a greatly expanded World Bank and International Monetary Fund as important aids to the "continued economic growth and cohesion of the entire free world."

The proposal provides for a \$1.3 billion increase in this country's gold and dollar contribution to the Fund, which represents a 50 per cent increase. He proposed a 100 per cent increase in this country's subscription to the capital of the World Bank, for a total of \$6.3 billion. The latter would not involve any cash outlay on the part of the United States, only a guarantee to make it easier for the Bank to borrow money through the sale of bonds. The President wants the authorization for the Fund to apply to the current fiscal year, when a deficit is already expected, rather than in fiscal 1960 when he hopes for a balanced budget.

"The entire free world needs sound currencies and orderly exchange systems to foster trade and economic growth, and it needs capital which will support rising living standards and accelerate the pace of economic development in all of the member countries," the President stated. He stressed "the co-operative nature" of the proposals, noting that other member countries could also increase their contributions. Incidentally, the Soviet Union attended the founding conferences but has never joined either institution.

About Books

The Causes of World War Three, by C. Wright Mills. Simon and Schuster, 1958. 172 pp. \$3.50.

C. Wright Mills, Professor of Sociology at Columbia, writes upon the Christian church with the holy impatience and moral indignation of a secular Jeremiah. The chapter entitled "A Pagan Sermon" is one of the most devastating critiques of "culture Christianity" and a conscienceless church in recent years. Mills is not afraid to assert: "Pacifism, we believe, is the test of your Christianity—and of you. At the very least, it ought to be the debate within Christendom."

Whether or not one is a pacifist, one cannot help being challenged to action by the cogent argument that war today is nothing less than absurdity, and only a radical movement of concerned intellectuals can reverse the thrust toward global suicide.

The first section debunks the idea of inevitability and deterministic factors in history. Mills makes much of the earlier theme of the power elite and holds that the business-dominated political and military orders are deliberately making decisions that in the face of general public apathy are pushing us toward World War III. In the light of his argument it is interesting to note that on page 100 in another section he excuses infidelity in international agreements by weaker nations be-

cause in the past such nations were forced "to enter into disadvantageous agreements."

Part Two is mostly a restatement of his analysis of the American power structure and an attack on "crackpot realism." In the final two sections of the book, perhaps the most worth-while, the author makes an eloquent plea for the "politics of peace" with emphasis upon a conspiracy among "cultural workers," scientists, ministers, university professors, which may embarrass the decision makers, and rouse the lower structures of power to demand disengagement and disarmament.

This is a bold statement of our present situation and its solution. In one list of guidelines for peace Mills sets forth an eighteen-point program most of which we have heard before. Too many questions are begged in this very sketchy strategy, but one is grateful for the plain language and the bold challenge it offers. A much more helpful suggestion for action is outlined in one of the final chapters when the intellectual community is directly summoned in a ten-point program for cultural critique and reconstruction.

The Causes of World War Three is very much worth reading by churchmen if only to tweak our complacencies. It is to be hoped that it will do more—that pacifists and nonpacifists alike will respond to its angry and almost frenetic summons to intrude

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into the clandestine places where the American foreign policy is being mechanically ground out toward a nuclear disaster.

If the Churches Want World Peace, by Norman Hill and Doniver A. Lund. The Macmillan Company, 1958. 148 pp. with index. \$3.00.

It is not difficult to see where these two men have made their theological peace with the power politicians. A quote or two will suffice: "The churches would be better able to carry forward their major work of redemption if they would desist from taking sides on the concrete issues of foreign policy" (page 78); "My fear [after hearing a generalized "sermon" on the work of the United Nations | was that not more than one in a couple of hundred preachers could do this well, and might better stick to the job of making men good rather than undertaking to make them wise" (page 79).

The authors evince a curious bifurcation in their willingness to trust the wisdom of elected officials and civil servants but distrust the corporate pronouncements of the churches even when they are fortified by research and studious attention to the realities of power politics. A good portion of the book is given over to extolling the technical competence and reliability of the decision makers as over against the naïveté and hopeless idealism of church leaders, many of whom will be amazed to discover in these pages that "the layman easily equates the voice of the church with that of God" (sic!).

Hill and Lund do acknowledge that the churches became more understanding of national self-interest and power actualities since Amsterdam and the organization of the World Council's Commission of the Churches on International Affairs. but the alert reader will doubt that they really have a consistent position on effective church intervention in the world struggle when they argue for "a consensus on some subjects" with the objective of developing a "Christian philosophy of international relations." Vague indications in this direction in the chapter on "International Ethics" and uninformed observations about the political positions of Barth and Niebuhr expose the theological incapacity of the writers as one of the principal deficiencies of this book.

Some good things can be said for the earlier section, which deals with a historical analysis of how the churches have responded to international relations and the challenge of pacifism since 1918. Also worth noting are suggestions for improving lay education in international affairs through instruction in basic categories rather than a superficial treatment of isolated incidents. But despite the quality of the historical material (apparently from Dr. Lund's Ph. D. thesis) and the realistic assessment of the traditional programmatic-pronouncement proach to church action in international affairs, the admonition of this book is belated and somewhat outmoded in the light of Evanston and the present. The book is worth reading for reminding us of past errors. It is to be regretted that its advice for decisions in the present emergency is not politically more specific and theologically more mature.

Overpopulation, by Anthony F. Zimmerman. The Catholic University of America Press, 1958. 328 pp. \$4.00.

Immediately following World War II a shock wave of population hit Japan with the addition of seventeen million people in a ten-year period to an already high population of 72,200,000. On September 2, 1945, Japan suffered a territorial shrinkage to 54 per cent of its former size with only about 140,000 square miles to support a population, which will reach a high point of 107.2 millions by the year 1990.

This picture of the population problem of Japan and the ways and means of dealing with it is the subject of a scholarly study, by Rev. Anthony F. Zimmerman, S.V.D., S.T.D., which attempts to demonstrate that population restriction is immoral and unnecessary. Rev. Mr. Zimmerman, who is presently lecturer in Moral Theology at St. Mary's Seminary, Techny, Illinois, argues from an analysis of the Japanese economy and from the authority of papal teachings. He holds that Japan's population problems could be solved without artificial restriction if emigration is encouraged and if world trade and foreign capital investment were developed.

Part I of the study is a factual statement of the natural resources and demographic development of Japan. Mr. Zimmerman questions whether the Eugenics Protection Law of 1948 will be able to solve the problem of overpopulation of the Japanese islands. The ill-health of

Japanese women due to 2,000,000 abortions a year, the delayed effects of birth control, which makes it of little benefit to the present generation, the low death rate, and the problem of the economic burden upon an abnormally small labor force in the next generation all seem to the author strong social and economic arguments against the birth control solution.

Part II launches into ethical arguments against birth control and population restriction by a comprehensive study of papal teachings. Protestants will be instructed by the sharp critique of the presuppositions of both communism and Western capitalism contained in the papal documents on international economics and world trade. A careful application of moral law principles based on Roman Catholic theology to postwar Japan is made with an attention to facts and figures.

Despite the high quality of the study in terms of its factual bases, Protestants will find problems in the theological position. Much of the papal teachings seems insufficiently aware of the fact of sin and the resistance of our malaise to absolute moral prescriptions. The arguments against even the use of rhythm in birth control seem inconsistent when Mr. Zimmerman concludes that "spouses may legitimately practice periodic abstinence when proportionately grave reasons exist within the family circle. . . . This may leave scope for some indirect decrease of population growth in certain areas if many very poor families legitimately adopt the method."

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Dear Sir:

Time was when I read each issue of Social Progress rather thoroughly. I was perhaps a better minister in this area for doing so.

The increasing volume of mail that comes across my desk has resulted in a proportionate cut-down. I fear that the increase of the magazine's size will lead to further decrease in the proportion of material I read.

The proposed increase in size has doubtless been carefully thought out; I certainly hope it will not result in any decrease in quality.

-Francis Henderson Alton, Illinois

Dear Sir:

I have just been reading the anniversary issue of Social Progress and have enjoyed it greatly. One is prompted, however, to reopen the issue of why Social Progress continues to take a stand on "voluntary abstinence." Of course, one understands the general pressures put upon the department to reflect a great body of public opinion within the church. One has sympathy too with the compromises that have to be made on some issues in order to gain backing for other unpopular issues such as the race issue. I have a number of questions, however:

1. To what extent is the SEA Department tied to general sentiment

within the church? Is it handicapped by being an official organ that cannot question General Assembly pronouncements, however archaic? One must admire men like Rush for some things. They were individualists, able to shoulder unpopular causes and were certainly not organization men.

2. Do you truly hold voluntary abstinence to be an ideal worthy of admiration? If so, why not voluntary chastity? Why not adopt some of the other ideals of the dualistic mystery cults that became syncretized with Christianity and resulted in such practices as monasticism? The answer, of course, is that such thinking is far from the thinking of Jesus who realized that true Christian love could issue only from a personality that participated fully in life's joy as well as in its sorrow and sacrifice. Of course this is not an ethic of hedonism. The point is that today's proponents of abstinence are not figures that our youth can admire.

So much centering upon the problem of alcohol diverts one from true interest in the real problems of mental health, which in some cases are the problems related to alcoholism. I have done considerable counseling in the past five years, and I cannot say that there is any equation between mental health and use of alcohol. Of course, there are the derelicts and habitués who enter the office frequently, but they are generally harmless in their effect upon society. It is not they who are involved in the big auto wrecks that claim so many lives.

I admit that there is an awful toll taken on the country's highways. But I cannot see that abstinence is any more relevant to this problem than pacifism is to international tensions.

How about a little more courageous stand on the whole question, one with which the staff need not feel so embarrassed, one for which ministers need not apologize with thinking people? Let's fight the segregation battle on its own merits! Let's tackle the problem of mental health with a little insight and wisdom! Let's abandon the thinly veiled hypocrisy of the stand on "temperance" that is such a joke to our young people! How about, through our ability to take unpopular stands, giving our young people an ideal worthy of the church we serve?

Warm regards (I cannot really get worked up over this).

---Lyman Hartley Yonkers, New York

Dear Sir:

The American way of life—Americanism—is truly a wonder, the wonder of the ages. It can be our most powerful possession for creating good and good will. Let us use it through trade and communications to convert others by good example.

Let us spend five million dollars less on armaments and use this money to subsidize vacation visits to America of top Soviet and Red China officials who would come incognito —as private citizens for a two-month look at all America—traveling singly to receive in full the impression of America, each accompanied by an interpreter who would act as guide and protector.

Result: Americanism will penetrate and convert visitors. Then instead of having to depend upon H-bombs and war missiles to destroy bodies in order to change minds—we could change minds with Americanism.

—Albert Price Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Sir:

I just want you to know what a good job you did in the September issue of Social Progress on "Residential Desegregation." We thought it was so good, here in our office, that we ordered a number of extra copies including enough to give to the executive directors in New Jersey at a recent meeting. It is certainly a help to have this kind of contribution and material available when needed.

Sincerely yours,

—Elise F. Moller National Board, Y.W.C.A. New York, New York

Dear Sir:

Coming from New York the other night, I had my dessert on the train, namely, the reading of your latest issue of Social Progress. Truly it was a feast in itself. You're giving us some rich things here, folks, and I, for one, am very grateful for them. This is the kind of material I want to put in the hands of every seminary student, and I have been marking past issues of Social Progress in order to make them required reading

when I get into the Christian education department at San Anselmo. Just keep up the good work, for we all need it.

—Roy W. Fairchild
Professor-elect of the San
Francisco Theological Seminary
San Anselmo, California

Dear Sir:

I am not entirely happy about the social pronouncements of the General Assembly. It is not so much a feeling of disagreement as a vague fear that there is a possibility of misapplication. Such phrases as "God is acting in this world to 'consolidate' his reign," and "that human institutions and structures may more nearly conform to the divine intention," carry to my mind a taint of a belief in the perfectibility of man.

I realize that my own attitude has its dangers too, particularly because it is founded on a negation. "Man is evil," I say, "and social progress is an illusion." In my work as a member of the Joint Action Committee for Better Housing, for example, I am joined by many who believe that if people are moved into better housing, they will be better people. This I do not believe. Perhaps they will, but I will not be disillusioned if they are not. (There is no cynic, by the way, so cynical as a disillusioned liberal.)

If I do not believe in progress, why do I support such a progressive program as public housing? The answer is my own "ground for social action." I believe that whatsoever we do, out of love and compassion for our fellow man, benefits ourselves. We fumble and make mistakes; our good intentions go awry; but the

love and compassion are there, and God will use us in his own way. Furthermore, compassion for our fellow man includes not only the slum dweller but his landlord as well. This the non-Christian "liberal" does not understand.

> —Mrs. A. B. Beverstock Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Dear Sir:

Some months ago I prepared four children's sermons based upon the old book *Ten Nights in a Barroom*. Of course, the material is very much modernized and streamlined. My sermons were well received by my people and I think very effective in teaching temperance.

I can send mimeographed copies of my sermons to anyone who may wish them. I think there is a great need for this sort of thing. Ministers who do not preach children's sermons can still use the material in other ways.

> —Norman Riedesel Toronto, Ohio

Dear Sir:

Thanks so much for the excellent issue of Social Progress on the church and labor.

It is a very well prepared issue and is helpful to many of us who are quite consumed with the problems of labor-management relations.

I missed one thing, however. Where is the "union bug"? I think many of your labor constituency would appreciate seeing it somewhere on the magazine. Did I miss it?

--Gilbert C. Murphy Gardner, Kansas (Ed. Note: No, it isn't there.)EVENTS....

Synods, presbyteries, presbyterials, youth groups, men's groups, etc., are invited to use this column to list SEA events.

To list dates or to secure information concerning any date or emphasis listed, except as otherwise directed, write to: Events, Department of Social Education and Action, Board of Christian Education, The United Presbyterian Church U.S.A., 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

March

30 to April 16 Regular Seminar for Ministers, Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations, McCormick Seminary, Chicago, Ill.

April

- 6-7 Institute on Human Relations and Intergroup Understanding, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C.
- 6-10 Advanced Seminar on International Affairs, New York, N.Y.
- (Write to Church Peace Union, 170 East 64th Street, New York 21, N.Y.)
- 14 SEA Counseling Committee, Philadelphia, Pa.
- 17 to May 13 West Coast Seminar for Ministers, Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations
- (Write to Director, 2330 North Halsted St., Chicago 14, Ill.)
- 23-24 SEA Section, United Christian Education Institute, Louisville, Ky.
 27-30 World Affairs Seminar, Washington, D.C., and United Nations, New
- York, N.Y.

 SEA Section, Church Officer Training Seminar, Storm Lake, Iowa
- 28-29 SEA Section, Church Officer Training Seminar, Storm Lake, Iowa
 30 to May 1 National Conference on International Economic and Social Development, Washington, D.C.

(Write to Director, 1025 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington 5, D.C.)

May

- Deadline for submitting essays to local churches for essay section of the 1959 Essay and Poster Competition for United Presbyterian Youth.
- May Fellowship Day
 (Write to United Church Women, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York 10,
- Rural Life Sunday
 (Write to Department of Town and Country Church, 156 Fifth
- Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.)

 SEA Section, United Christian Education Institute, Ghost Ranch,
- N. Mex.
 SEA Workshop, Presbytery and Synod Leaders, Phoenix, Ariz.
- 16 SEA Workshop, Chicago Presbytery
- Church Conference on Social Work, San Francisco, Calif.

 (Write to Department of Social Welfare, National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.)

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